THE MARCHES OF THE MANTZE

J. H. EDGAR

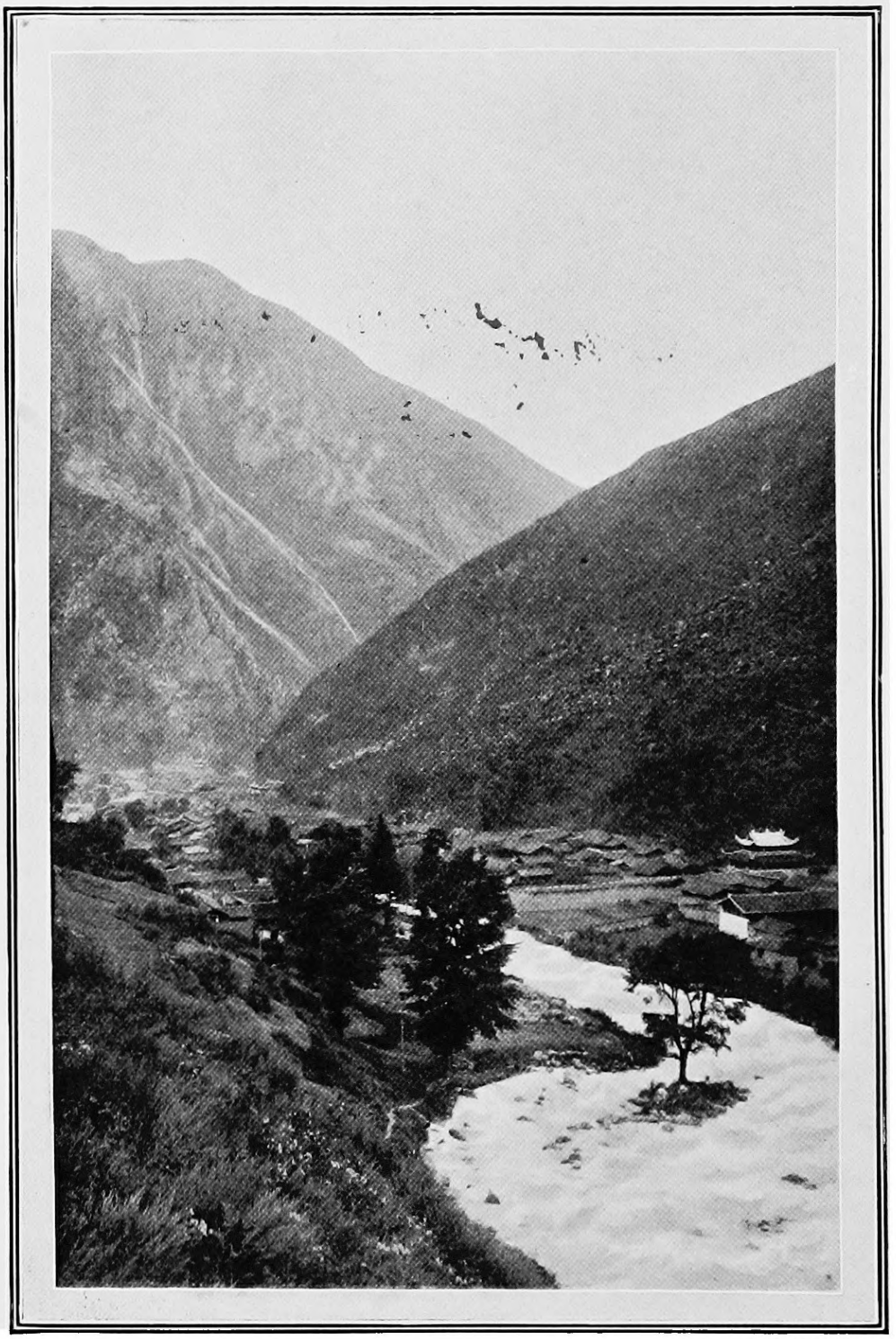

Photo by] [*R. J. Davidson*

THE TOWN OF TATSIENLU FROM THE SOUTH.

Frontispiece.

The Marches of the Mantze

J. H. EDGAR

MISSIONARY ON THE TIBETAN BORDER

PREFACE BY

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PREFACE

THE Marches of the Mantze is the Chinese designation of that large tract of country situated to the west of Szechwan and east of Tibet. Of this country little is at present known, and less has been published. As this district is now entering upon a new era in its history, the following particulars, by one who has resided there for many years, cannot fail to be of interest. Whether it be to the missionary who seeks to preach the Gospel where Christ has not been named, or to the student of history and geography, all that pertains to a hitherto unknown land must appeal with special power.

As early as 1877 Dr. Cameron of the China Inland Mission travelled through these regions. In 1888 the writer, with his wife, commenced the study of Tibetan with the help of an old Mongol who had formerly been with the well-known Jesuit travellers, Huc and Gabet. After a short residence at Sungpang they subsequently opened Tatsienlu in 1897 as a mission station for work in this border country. From that time onward work has been maintained, with the exception of a break occasioned by the Boxer Crisis. The following pages

foreign, who are already in the field, and for any others who may enter upon that task in the future. Already one or two Chinese workers have volunteered for service on this field, and there are openings for a few picked men from the home country should such offer.

CECIL POLHILL.

HOWBURY HALL,
April 16, 1908.

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ULAG IN EASTERN TIBET

The traveller in Tibet will not have proceeded very far beyond the bounds of China Proper before he becomes acquainted with a system known as Ulag, sometimes written Ula. The word seems to be of Mongolian origin, but it is well known in the Chia Rung regions, and as it finds a place in the Tibetan dictionary of Jaschke we may consider it a common term throughout Tibet.

Ulag is a species of socage service rendered to princes, Government officials, and priests. China, in order to maintain her suzerain powers in Tibet, is obliged to keep a large staff of officials in the country, and these, owing to the necessity of maintaining the dignity of their position in the eyes of the Tibetans and the exigencies of their mode of life, require not only a large body of retainers and soldiers, but also provisions, ammunition, and the means of transporting money and goods. As the term of service for Chinese officials in Tibet is only three years, it will be readily understood that official travelling expenses would be a most serious item in the public account if the Government were obliged to defray these expenses itself. Recourse is therefore had to the system of Ulag, under

which, in return for a grant of lands adjacent to the highways, the native tenants are obliged to provide means of transport from one stage to another. The control of the system is in the hands of the native chiefs, who form settlements at convenient places along the main roads, where a fixed number of animals are kept for the transport service.

Merchants and, generally speaking, foreigners are not entitled to Ulag, and they are supposed to make their own transport arrangements with the native chiefs and the Lamaseries. This method is usually most unsatisfactory, as the following example will show. The native chief having informed the traveller that he has no power to grant Ulag, offers to assist him in procuring pack animals. The unwary traveller falls into the trap, accepts the offer, and pays cash down for transport through the chief's territory. The price paid seems fair, and the traveller starts off, his caravan in charge of a head man supplied by the chief, congratulating himself on being able to escape the vexatious delays of the Ulag. Alas, he soon finds that his money has gone into the chief's coffers, and that he is dependent on the truculent Ulag owners after all. Having paid the full amount due in advance, the traveller naturally refuses to make any further payments *en route*, with the result that he is provided with the worst animals, is constantly delayed, and acquires a reputation for meanness among the natives. Often the Lamas step in and absolutely refuse animals until extra payment has been made. It usually ends in his having to pay double the price he would have done had he at the outset insisted on receiving Ulag.

After such experiences the traveller, although on

moral grounds he may condemn the Ulag system, finds himself practically forced to make use of it. Theoretically there is nothing wrong with the system, and when first instituted it was doubtless advantageous to all concerned, but it has been seriously abused by unscrupulous Chinese and Tibetan officials, and it has afforded an opportunity for "squeezes," which the avaricious Lama has not failed to turn to his own profit. And now along the official roads crumbling ruins and a growing desolation tell of the failure of a system which, innocuous in itself, has been ruined by the avarice and oppression of the country's rulers. In the region between Tatsienlu and Batang families are constantly migrating to less public districts, away from the main roads, in order to escape the exactions of the Ulag and its managers.

The nature of the Ulag varies in different districts, but the transport is usually effected by mules, horses, cattle, and yak. In Badi Bawang, U-t'ong, and Chala porters are common. They only carry very small loads for very short stages, and will take no responsibility for the safety of their burdens. In these districts no remuneration is expected, and the work is usually done by women and girls, even small children being pressed into the service.

The yaks and oxen used for Ulag are usually fairly good specimens of their kind, but not so the horses. These are often animals strayed or stolen from caravans, or the riff-raff of the border markets. The blind, halt, and sick unto death are all employed, and when unfit for further service their hides fetch a small price in the lowland markets.

II

TRAVELLING BY CORACLE

THE construction of a coracle is exceedingly simple. A willow framework in the form of a huge basket is covered with a coat of bullock hide, the seams of which are carefully sewn together and covered with pine pitch. The structure, when complete, is quite watertight, and has the appearance of a huge oyster shell some four feet in diameter and three feet deep.

The problem on these waterways is to have a craft which can stand the strain of the fierce rapids and be steered with almost no sweep. It must also be light enough to be carried back to the starting-point. The coracle, weighing about 70 lbs., answers these purposes admirably, although it does not inspire the novice with confidence as to its construction and mode of progress.

It is the child of dire necessity and wanton daring, and the infallible herald of non-Chinese tribes. In districts where the queue, clothes, houses, and speech apparently indicate that the inhabitants are Chinese, the coracle is a clue which, if followed up, will finally force the reluctant admission of Mantze parentage.

Coracles are to be found at Batang and at Hokow on the Yalung River, but the present description refers to experiences on the Tung River. This almost

unknown stream, which joins the Min at Kiatingfu, has at least four names. From Kiatingfu up to Fulin it is known as the Tung or Brass River; from Fulin to Romei Chango, 1200 li, as the Tatu or Great Ferry River; from Romei Chango to Choschia it bears the name of the Tachin or Great Gold River; and above Hsuching, the western limit of Chinese influence in these regions, it has another local name.

Coracles are first seen at Luting Chiao, 1000 li above Kiatingfu, but they are only used in a limited way. They are next found above and below Romei Chango, almost another thousand li higher up among the mountains. In this district they not only act as ferries, but carry goods and passengers down the quieter reaches. The real starting-point of the coracle traffic, however, is not far from the Choschia border and the terminus at Mari Pang, a small military station just inside the state of Badi Bawang. The distance between these two points is about 50 English miles, and the unique experience which such a journey affords is well worth the risk of life and limb which it entails.

Our journey was most exciting. The steersman confided to me, soon after we had started, that in view of the unique value of his freight he had taken a larger allowance of intoxicants than usual. "Already," he said, "I am half drunk." He seemed to me quite so, and I was unable to appreciate his forethought as he evidently intended I should. We were three passengers, besides the owner, and we were told to pack ourselves close together and sit still or the craft would certainly upset. At first the cramped position was most uncomfortable, but we soon forgot to notice this as our attention was otherwise engaged.

The tendency of the coracle is always to circle, and although in smooth waters the steersman's paddle is able to counteract this to some extent, the rotary motion becomes most uncomfortable and alarming whenever a rapid is reached. At the same time rough water tosses the coracle from side to side, as if it were a cork. We go whirling, swaying from side to side, diving up and down until we really seem to have lost all sense of place or time or feeling. Just as darkness comes on we reach our destination and step on shore, cold and cramped, but not even splashed with the waves which threatened to engulf us.

The old boatman, a Chia Rung tribesman, entertained us with gruesome tales relating to his calling on the way down, and as I look back, and think of that frail craft and its drunken owner, the dark river and those furious rapids through which we passed, the whole thing seems more like a troubled dream than an actual stage of a live missionary's journey.

Photo by] [*R. F. Davidson.*

THE TATSIENLU RIVER IN GORGE BELOW THE TOWN.

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III

THE MARCHES OF THE MANTZE

"The Marches of the Mantze" is a term which may fittingly be applied to that large tract of country in which Tatsienlu, Batang, and Siangcheng are situated to the west of Szechwan. From east to west averaging about 500 miles, and from north to south somewhat more, it consists on the whole of high, treeless plateaux from 12,000 to 14,000 feet above sea-level, surrounded by high ranges from 17,000 to 20,000 feet.

These high plains and higher ranges furnish supplies for the countless rivers which, flowing south, wear out the interminable ravines that characterise the region under discussion. On the plateaux the most luxurious swards abound, and furnish sustenance for the myriads of yak, horses, sheep, and other animals of the nomad. Here also are found the black and white tents of the Tibetan, which are so eminently suited for the roving life that their calling demands; but in the lower valleys, worn out by the ever-flowing streams, houses and even large settlements have become the rule, where every available portion of land is cultivated, and where generations of experience have taught the native to make the best use of the seemingly worthless soil.

The climate in the Marches is generally rigorous in the extreme, and the high altitudes at first may cause the traveller some anxiety, but the human system soon adapts itself to changed environment. In the summer months a glorious sunshine, enchanting landscapes, and the picturesque tents of countless herdsmen meet the eye, but in winter an Arctic desolation prevails, and men and beasts hasten to the warmer valleys or hibernate in the sandy soil of the steppes.

The people inhabiting the Marches are of Tibetan descent, and without exception speak the language of this people. Here also are noticed some religious instincts, the dislike of foreign rule, the nomadic and predatory habits, the tribal form of government, with polyandry and suggestions of a former matriarchy, a disregard of cleanliness, a love of ornaments, and peculiar diet which characterises the whole Tibetan race.

This wild land has always resisted Chinese pretensions. Expeditions have devastated it again and again; various forms of government have been employed more or less favourable to Peking; and schemes to colonise it have proved disastrous. It is a matter of history that it has insulted and killed China's high officials; those paltry regions have arrogantly defied China for years; and native chiefs, believed to be loyal agents, have, in the evil day, proved traitorous. But many think what has happened in the past will be an index to the future, and that the wild Marches will continue to exasperate and perplex China. To this day, be it noted, the regions of Chantui, Sanai, Linkasï, and other places are either directly under Lhassa, or remain, like Derge, practically independent of either that centre or Peking.

IV

TRAVELLING IN THE MARCHES

The roads through the Marches and the means for transport are peculiar. The pedestrian, so common on the plain, and the strings of heavily burdened coolies or stolid carriers, are unknown west of Tatsienlu, and the traveller and his baggage are at the mercy of the ungroomed and often unreliable animals of the Tibetans. A look at the map of the Marches will explain the change. The official road to Lhassa passes along the northern border of the Marches, the rivers of which are very numerous. The rivers flowing south and the road going west, the traveller is not only near the watershed of a great river system but is continually dipping into the valleys of the above rivers and crossing the passes of the mountains which divide them. The road through the Marches is only once—and that in the valley of the Yalong—below 12,500 feet, while twelve passes, not one of which is under 14,500 feet, must be crossed!

Travel in these regions is very complicated. Not only are large numbers of baggage animals required, but also such as are suited to high altitudes and peculiarly broken roads. Every official travelling in the interior must carry enormous quantities of food,

clothing, etc., for himself and his retainers, and the expense and worry of fitting out, and keeping up, a caravan suited to these regions would be well-nigh impossible.

Few who have not visited the Marches will understand what a prodigious task the administration of Tibet really is, and it will no doubt surprise many to know that the multitudinous officials and suites, changing once in three years for reasons both humane and Imperial, means a literal stream of ingoing and outgoing officials, soldiers, couriers, and tribute bearers connected with the Tibetan administration. And on the whole China has made arrangements to overcome the difficulties of travel in one of the highest thoroughfares in the world, in principle eminently satisfactory, and by no means as unfair as generally supposed.

Briefly, the safest and most convenient way to travel in the Marches is to use either the horses of the Courier stations or the socage system known as Ulag.[1] The Courier stations were established about 1730 A.D., and placed at varying intervals between Tatsienlu and Lhassa, with the object of keeping up communication between Peking and the latter city. In each station were Chinese and Tibetans who were expected to furnish and keep in condition a certain number of horses or other animals, which might be required at a moment's notice, to travel with despatches, Government servants or baggage of same to the next Courier station. The expenses of the station were defrayed by the Peking and Lhassa Governments, or native rulers respectively. The Chinese Couriers received 48 taels per annum, and the Tibetans,

[1] For Ulag, see page 1.

in silver and grain, an amount equal to 60 taels. During the late rebellion all the Litang Tibetan Couriers fled, but they are still to be found in Batang and Chagla.

In 1903 I used both the "Han and Mantang" horses, and paid at the rate of 200 cash a day for each animal. But in all matters requiring large caravans such a system is manifestly inadequate, and we find the Ulag always demanded for the ingoing and outgoing Ambans, civil and military intendants, tribute caravans, and punitive expeditions.

As a rule, when a small number of animals is required, well-known centres along the way, such as Hokow, Litang, Lamaya, and Taso, furnish them; but when the demand is in hundreds, the whole region must send animals to specified centres for use on a certain day. This Ulag is really a tax on the districts, and, I think, adjusted in proper proportion; but apart from the Government concessions allowed, a payment of 100 or 200 cash for each animal per diem is demanded. Now when we remember the number of animals owned by every one everywhere, and the cheapness of fodder and labour, 2000 cash given to the children who tend the nine or ten animals from the Ulag station is really a fair price in itself.

Yaks, mules, and horses are the animals used, and as a rule carry enormous loads up steep and high passes and down into deep ravines with the utmost composure. But the daily changing of riding-animals leaves the rider always at a disadvantage, for his horse may shy, bite, roll, or kick, without warning, and generally in the most undesirable places. My experience of both Ulag and Courier transport is that the Tibetans really

receive a fair remuneration when the custom of giving 200 cash a day per animal is adhered to. For the missionary to keep his own animals would not only be very expensive, but it is questionable if when wanted they would fulfil the requirements which the arduous journeys demand. These difficulties have been long felt by the Chinese, and the above system is the outcome, which, although open to serious abuses, is nevertheless fair in theory, and often profitable to the Tibetan.

Occasionally, in the case of high officials, and the wives of officials, chairs go into Batang and beyond. The road presents no difficulties to this mode of travelling, except that the passes demand the attendance of about double the men customary on the plain. Apart from the expense, a lady could travel from Batang to Tatsienlu with a fair amount of comfort. The cost of a foreign lady travelling from Tatsienlu to Batang would be about 42 taels.

The traveller in the Marches who follows the official road has, as a rule, the choice of one or more rest-houses in a day's journey. These buildings, always associated with Courier stations, although often dirty and cheerless beyond description, furnish a person with shelter and utensils for cooking his meals. At times the traveller may be also able to procure Tsamba, butter, milk, and eggs from the inmates. Welcome as these rest-houses are in a land which without the Han would either demand prodigious stages or a "camp out," the future traveller will find something much more satisfactory.

The Chinese Government has decided that her officials in the Marches require better accommodation, so

the indefatigable H.E. Chao has given orders for the erection of new and better-planned rest-houses on the old sites, and in one or two cases, where much needed, quite new houses. Large numbers of carpenters and Maochow masons have been for months squaring beams, sawing boards, fixing frameworks and building walls. And now most are finished. They are all flat-roofed, with one storey only. The walls in front are always of wood, but those outside may be of mud, gravel, stone, or wood. Both the upright stays and rafters are very powerful, and the timbers generally heavy and likely to endure. At present the flat mud roofs leak profusely, but this will be remedied in time. The plan of the houses with their reception hall and side rooms is distinctly Chinese. The beds are strong and comfortable, and the guest hall chairs, tables, beds, and sideboards plain but pretty. In the Batang region the lower part of the building is taken up by the Couriers of the "Han and Mantang." In conclusion, the writer sees no reason why the road to Batang may not be travelled with safety and even comfort. Sufficient nourishing food must be carried, and abundance of warm clothing. The altitudes, from 13,000 to 17,000 feet, at first seem formidable, but it is surprising what little difference one notices in the most elevated plateaux. Whether animals or palanquins are used depends on the mood, exchequer, or sex of the individual. In any case good oilskins, warm underwear, and furs are necessary, and the bedding should always be warm and abundant. As storms are of daily and often hourly occurrence, the bedding should always be wrapped in oilskins or rubber sheets.

V

A NEW ERA IN THE MARCHES

About three years ago a serious rebellion agitated the whole region west of Tatsienlu, and as it was to mark the beginning of a new era in the Marches it is worth examination in some detail. It is relatively correct to say that the rebellion had been simmering for many years. The abuse of the socage system, arrogance of the Lamas, avarice of the native chiefs, and the cruelty of the Chinese had caused widespread dissatisfaction among the people in districts abutting on the main roads.

But more serious forces were at work. When the writer arrived at Tatsienlu in 1902, Russian influence was paramount at Lhassa. Dorjieff, an educated Russian Buriat, had so gained the ear of the Dalai Lama that a secret treaty had been signed favourable to Russia, and preparations were being made by Tibet to cast off the yoke of China. Both England and China were alarmed, and the former demanded a settlement of outstanding questions affecting her Indian border. But the Tibetans treated the demands with such contempt that an expedition was despatched to demand a settlement at Lhassa if necessary. After weary months of fruitless waiting, and often sharp fighting, the capital of Buddhism was

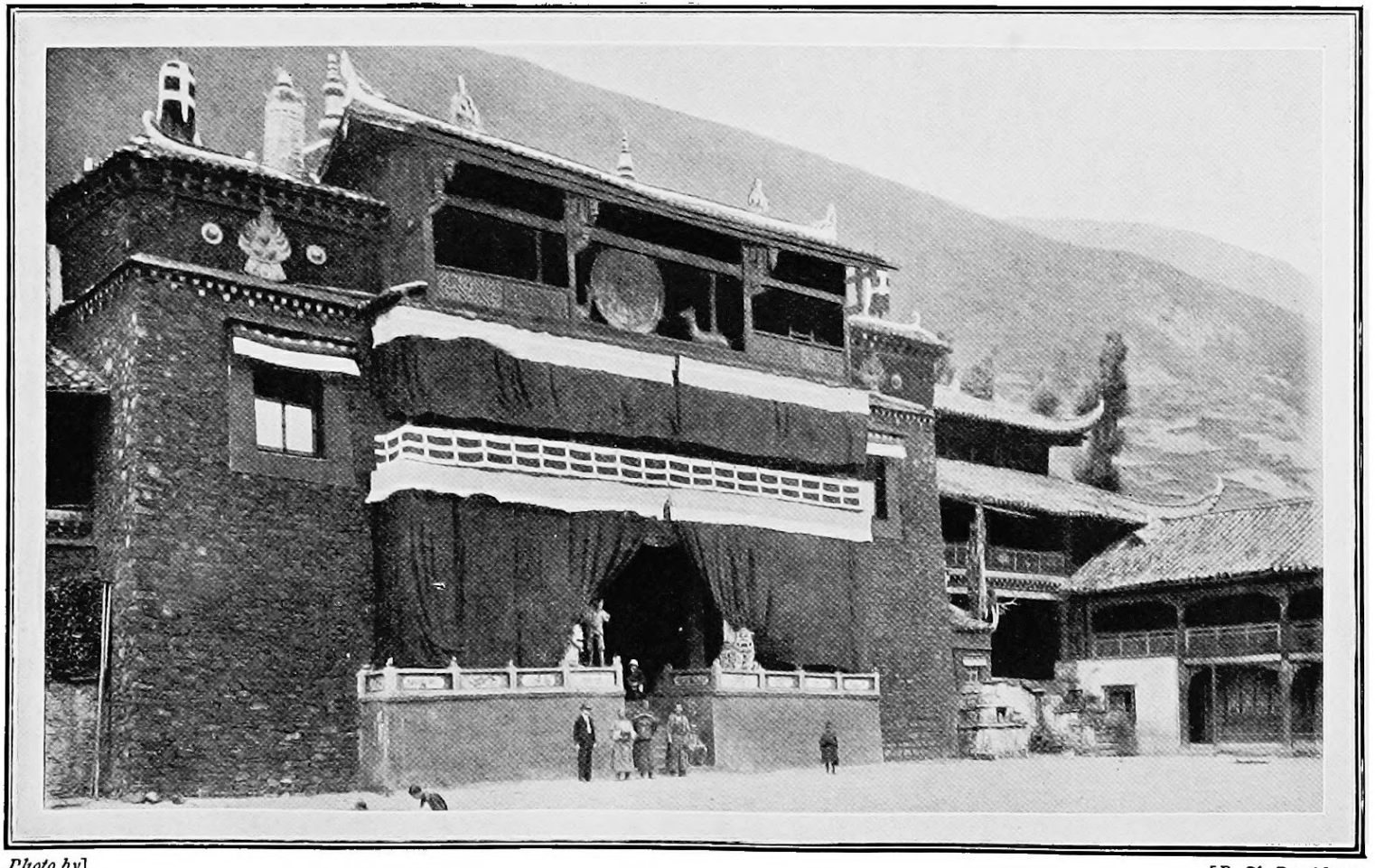

Photo by] [*R. J. Davidson.*

LAMA TEMPLE AND COURTYARD NEAR TATSIENLU.

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entered only to find that the Dalai Lama and Dorjieff had fled towards Urga. An agreement, however, more or less satisfactory, was signed by some authority in Tibet, and Colonel Younghusband returned to India.

For years also China had been striving to assert her authority in East Tibet, territory nominally her own. Some time ago, within the last decade, China, taking advantage of a local embroglio, marched into Chantui, and either by arms or money obtained some alleged concessions. But the moral of the expedition was lost when it was known that the high officials concerned were degraded, and Lhassa's claim to the territory admitted at Peking. About the same time threats, moral suasion, and punitive expeditions failed to procure lasting peace, or even formal submission, in either Siang-cheng or Sanai.

In 1903 the powerful Lamasery at Litang openly defied China, and for some time it was uncertain whether the local chiefs and the Chantui confederacy would join with them. However, owing to the prompt and courageous action of Sub-Prefect Liu at Tatsienlu, the clique suffered a severe blow by an attack on the Lamasery in which the Lamas were defeated and the Abbot with some of his relatives summarily beheaded. About the same time, also according to a persistent rumour, Batang, Litang, and Chantui had a secret agreement in which throwing off China's yoke and influence was aimed at. In 1904, owing to a grant of mining rights in the sub-chieftaincy of Kata, the opportunity for action seemed imminent, but Chantui retired from the union and the forces of China were allowed to march on Tailing and demolish the famous Lamasery unopposed.

But at last a mistaken policy at Peking and the lack of tact displayed by a leading official were the sparks which exploded the magazines of Tibetan discontent. Feng, a Manchurian, received appointment as "Deputy Imperial Commissioner of Tibetan Affairs," with instructions to reside partly at Batang and partly in Chamdo. This arrangement was very unpopular, inasmuch as it threatened to interfere with the freedom of the native chiefs. But when Feng, shortly after his arrival at Batang, included in his policy a scheme for reducing the power and population of the Lamaseries, priests and people were both against the Government. At the end of 1904 the crisis was so acute that the Commissioner Feng deemed it safer to retire to Tatsienlu. But he had only proceeded ten li beyond Batang, when thousands of ambushed Tibetans surrounded the party of fifty men and exterminated them without distinction of race or rank. Then the rebels, returning to Batang, drove out the Chinese and occupied the city for nearly four months. Among those killed was a Roman Catholic priest and five converts.

News of the rebellion soon reached Chengtu, and a punitive expedition under General Ma was organised immediately, and arriving at Batang on the 24th of the sixth month, recaptured the city, executed the two chiefs, and sent an expedition to exterminate the inhabitants of Chihtsuen, who were more directly concerned in the death of H.E. Feng. It was the intention of the Chinese General to first sack and then destroy the huge Lamasery of Tinglinsze, but the Lamas forestalled him by themselves burning the wonderful building and the bridge over the Chihtsuen River, and fleeing with the temple treasures to the inaccessible mountains of Sanai.

The abbot, however, was latterly given up by the Chihtsuen natives and executed as a rebel of the Chinese Empire. At Siangcheng operations dragged on until the 4th intercalary month of the 32nd year of Kwang Hsu (1906), and it was not until the capture of Yen-ching in the 12th month of the same year that the war was brought to a close.

The outcome of the rebellion was not only startling because the power of Lamaism was broken, and the old form of native government discarded, but also on account of the fact that China is full of plans for the reorganisation of the conquered regions. Not only are the strategic centres garrisoned with troops and officials appointed, but the conditions of travel are improved, a telegraph terminates at Batang, and every inducement is offered to Chinese to cultivate the waste lands and work the mineral deposits of the country.

By comparing conditions now obtaining with those observed by the writer in 1903 an idea of H.E. Chao's influence in the Marches may be gathered. The condition of Litang, for instance, in those days was by no means reassuring. The Lamas, although lately punished by the Chinese forces, were truculent and unfriendly, and the native chiefs endured the Chinese because of their inability to oust them. Brigands thronged the mountains, and the great regions south of Litang were closed to Chinese and foreigners alike; and in the city, among officials, traders, and soldiers, the fear of the Lamas had taken the place of the fear of God. But revisiting the region again after three years the change is really remarkable. Then all was chaos and uncertainty; now order and confidence in Chinese rule is manifest everywhere. This is largely due to the humiliation of the

Lamas. Although the Litang colony has not suffered, the haughty and defiant confederacies at Batang and Siangcheng have been broken up, the temples sacked and destroyed, and the Lamas killed or disbanded. And there is a feeling at Litang that China would make no exception in this region if circumstances demanded it. Again in Litang and Batang the native rulers have come to grief, the latter two suffering the death penalty for high treason, and the former being deposed for ever. One is now a fugitive in Tibet, and one died by his own hand while on his way to Chengtu.

There is no doubt that the people recognise that the strong arm of China has done all this, and rebellion is no part of the Tibetan's programme. But in case they might forget, China has placed a camp of one thousand men in the city under a Tao-tai, who drills them daily according to foreign methods. Moreover, this body of men attends to many details which now make Litang both pleasant and safe to live in. Bodies of men, for instance, patrol the streets demanding both orderly and decorous behaviour. They are also concerned with a policy for the extirpation of brigands, and in this respect alone have done an important work. Whole regions formerly infested by these picturesque but inconvenient gentry are now quite safe. On the awful Hwangtukang, 16,000 feet above the sea-level, companies of soldiers from the Litang camp spent the winter in order that the district might be free from the road agents. Although large numbers have been caught, travellers within the last few days have been robbed, and at Lamaya, sixty li distant, success is only in its initial stages, for both the Nepaulese Embassy and the Lhassa Amban have been pillaged; and one morning,

when asking the explanation of a midnight disturbance, I was told that a robber had been caught plying his old trade on the Siangcheng road.

Now the outcome of all this is a confidence in the Government, which is highly beneficial to the Chinese and Tibetans. Business is increasing rapidly; trees are being planted in the waste lands; telegraph communication connects the city with Peking; and the Roman Catholics have bought buildings for missionary purposes. All this suggests that Litang has entered a new era —an era with orderly government, uninfluenced by Lamaism.

In 1903 the Lamas ruled Siangcheng, and the only suzerain recognised was the Dalai Lama. Officials, traders, and agents of China were treated with the utmost barbarity; but now the Lamas are disbanded, Chinese garrisons keep order while her officials dispense justice, and even foreigners may travel through this large unsurveyed region in comparative safety. In 1903 China's authority was ridiculed; now few will question it or fail to recognise the advantages arising therefrom.

It was much the same at Batang. In 1903 China was ignored or insulted by Lamas and Tusis (native chiefs) alike. Now the Lamasery is burnt and the order of the native chiefs extinguished for ever. Moreover, China aims at ruling the turbulent people directly. The appointment of city elders, the erection of schools for the people, and attempts at colonisation indicate that China will endeavour for many years to assert her authority and inculcate her principles.

It is hard to believe what the downfall of Lamaism means without having first experienced their studied insolence and irksome surveillance, and then arrive in

the same region and find their gilded Lamasery a mass of pitiable ruins, and their haughty colony represented by a few striking threadbare rogues. As I have said before, this merciless policy of China has been far-reaching in the Marches, but there is also strong reason for believing that the Lamas of Anterior Tibet are also discussing it with fear and trembling. And if proof is required I would refer to the fact that the time-honoured vigilance on the Ning Chingshan is apparently relaxed, and the Lhassa governed tribes of Sanai, Chantui, and Linkasi are by no means so anxious to try conclusions with China. As in Litang, China is depending not so much on the moral of the punitive expedition as on the continual presence of strong garrisons in the more turbulent centres.

And it may not be without significance that the Nepaulese tribute has been renewed. The Chinese look upon this time-honoured custom as the *bona fide* offering of a subjected state, but the Nepaulese consider it a compensation for privileges allowed them in Tibet. However, the contention of the former is upheld by the following facts. The Embassy appears before the Emperor of China in the official robes of Nepaul, but, after receiving the highest titles and decorations of the Empire, they are required to traverse the whole breadth of China and Tibet in the dress of Chinese officials. Moreover, China not only demands that the journey to and from Peking be right across the Empire, but also detains them unconscionably long periods at the important centres *en route*. In fact, the whole thing is little better than a humiliating exhibition of a conquered race in the territory of its conquerors. The delays are also part of the bluff, inasmuch as the

journey from Katmandu to Peking, delayed trebly, gives the gullible Chinamen quite a wrong idea of the extraordinary vastness of the Empire.

Of the ethical changes it is not easy to give an opinion. Both Litang and Batang, before the Chinese domination, were the most immoral towns of the Empire, owing no doubt partly to the shifting population of the Marches,—nomads, Chinese traders and officials, which favour a system of quasi-polandry,—and now that these causes are multiplied, there is no reason to believe that the immorality will not increase enormously. Some time ago H.E. Chao, with ethical reasons in view, gave instructions regarding dress reform and personal cleanliness. While those relating to face-washing, hair-combing, and the wearing of suitable underclothing have remained unheeded, the common and obnoxious custom of women of all ages parading the streets imperfectly clad has almost ceased in the towns at least.

VI

TATSIENLU

In dealing with the Mantze Marches, three places must be supremely important, and a fourth indirectly so, viz. Tatsienlu, Litang, Batang, and Siangcheng. Tatsienlu is at the extreme east of the Marches, and is a political and commercial centre of primary importance. It is the Ultima Thule of China and Tibet, where a thriving trade is done in the wares of both countries. Moreover, it is the residence of the chief of Chagla, a quasi-independent kinglet with jurisdiction in other states more distant from China.

In the Guide Book of Tibet the following description is found:—"Tatsienlu was formerly known as the kingdom of Mao-nui . . . and was part of the Nan-chao confederacy, but later came under the Kökönor administration. In the 5th year of Yong-loh of the Ming Dynasty (1403 A.D.), the chief, Awang-Chiah-mu-tsan, came under the influence of civilisation and was made a second-class native official—Hsuen-uei-Shi-si—and controller of the tribes west of the Tong, Ü-t'ong, and Ning-üen-fu, with seals of office accompanying the patent of investiture. The present Dynasty, in consideration of the above, made the then chief a third-class native official, with power over three trading

companies. New chiefs, chiliarchs, and centurions to the extent of fifty-six were created. This illustrious chief controls six subsidiary chiefs, one chiliarch, and forty-eight centurions."

Tatsienlu, apart from being the centre of the Chagla region which borders on Lengpien, Shenpien, Tsali, Meilo, Litang, Chantui, Kata, Badi, Bawang, Meokong, Muping, and Yütong, is also the starting-point of two main roads to Lhassa, and one also to the regions of Ta and Siaokin.

It will be seen from the above that Tatsienlu is an exceptionally fine base for Tibetan work, in which both settled and nomadic operations will be included. Regarding the former, Tatsienlu, with its present population of settled and visiting Chinese, Tibetans, and Sifan, could easily provide work for two missionaries; and the contiguous districts of Kongyü, Yütong, Tsali, Lengpien, Shenpien, and perhaps parts of Muping, would require at least two more. As the work develops, schools for children and training evangelists would need to be included, as well as a suitable centre for young missionaries, general secretary, and superintendent of Protestant churches in the Marches. And I have no doubt for such purposes Tatsienlu will be found by far the most suitable station.

On the whole, I cannot but think that the strong point in Tibetan work will be systematic itineration from suitable centres. Judged by towns and villages the population of the Marches seems unimportant, but a closer inspection will persuade one that it is relatively large. Any time on the steppes vast heads of yak and horses may be seen grazing, but the nomads seem like the wind, "which bloweth where it listeth." However,

we may be sure that they come under one of the following classifications:—

A. Tibetans with homes in the towns and large settlements, such as Tatsienlu, Hokow, Litang, Lamaya, Taopa, and Shomba. Or they may belong to

B. The nomad chiefs and their subjects, such as the regions of Chüenteng, Chongsi Bonyag, Dégombo, and Maoyang in the Litang Intendancy. Or they may be merely the animals of

C. Travellers, traders, or Lamas from interior districts, who are slowly marching to and from the border centres.

In all the above cases it will be apparent that the nomad may only be reached by the itinerant missionary who will adapt himself to the habits of the nomads, a people infallibly controlled by climate and season. They must, perforce, leave the grassless, ice-bound steppes in winter for the warm and sheltered valleys, but gradually climb higher and higher as climate and pastures invite. Now if Tatsienlu were to be the only station on the Tibetan border it would be a suitable centre for the Chagla nomads, but other centres would be more convenient as the work develops.

Yingkwanchiai would form a good base from which the Chagla nomads could be reached and five hundred families besides. The relatively large settlements of Tongolo and Nangyangpa and two other important valleys are not more than a short day's journey distant. About the centre of Chagla the missionary could easily reach Dawo, Tailing, Hokow, and Kinhopien in the direction of Meilo.

The village of Yingkwanchiai, apart from its strategic value, is below 11,000 feet (?), and apparently very

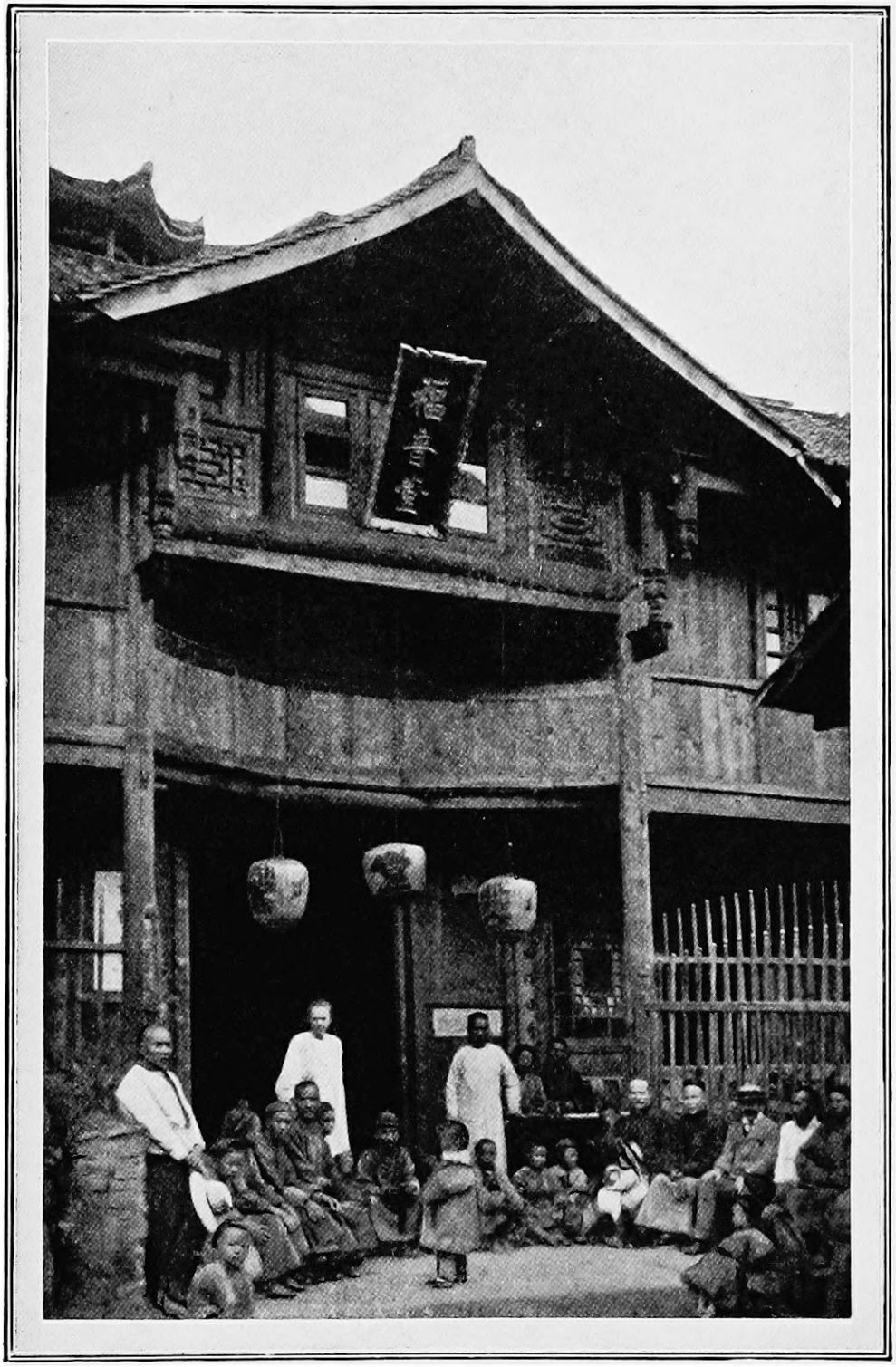

Photo by] [*R. J. Davidson.*

FRONT OF CHINA INLAND MISSION HOUSE, TATSIENLU.

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healthy, with supplies of wood close at hand. Vegetables could be grown locally, but supplies would, as a rule, be brought from Tatsienlu, 150 li distant. Although inferior as regards population it is preferable to either Nanyangpa or Tongolo, because both these latter are in corners of districts. Nangyangpa is also too high, and the latter, apart from a high altitude, is a most unhealthy spot, being at the lower end of a bog. There is another centre from which Tongolo and Yingkwanchiai may be worked, which will be discussed under Hokow.

Hokow is situated at the west end of Chagla, and controls a very important ferry over the Yalong. All the interior officials and large caravans of merchants and travellers must perforce pass through, and remain some time in, its vicinity. For instance, once in three years two Ambans go into Lhassa with enormous trains, and once in three years two come out laden with the wares of Tibet. And during the same period the various officials, ordinary and extraordinary, of all grades proceed to their posts and retire when their term is completed.

Hokow commands four roads: one east through Chagla to Tatsienlu; another west to Litang; a third north to Chantui; and one south to Meilo. It has a population of about 300 souls; 200 on the Chagla side, and 100 under Litang. The valley east (to the foot of Kazhila) will have a population of 100 families, including the senior Headman of Chagla.

On the west road, apart from the paltry settlement of Makehtsong, there is nothing of importance until the valley of Sigolo, ninety li distant, is reached. This settlement, with Lamas, will give about 600 souls. Down the Yalong there is a road, but unless Meilo,

four days distant, and the occasional low and warm ravines coming in from the Litang watershed, have something of importance to reveal, the population of the southern road will not affect the value of Hokow as a centre.

Up the river it is very different. The population from Hokow to Chantui, ninety li away, is estimated at 100 families. This Chantui is directly under the Lhassa Government. The population of the region according to Rockhill's quotations is as follows:— Upper Chantui, 432 families; Middle Chantui, 200 families; and Lower Chantui, 340 families. This estimation of 972 families I consider absurdly low, unless the "family" really means a small clan. If the latter the population will number about 10,000 souls. Hokow, apart from the somewhat important floating population, and excluding Yingkwanchiai, would not readily reach more than 400 families. But if the latter district is included, together with the nomads of Sigold, the district might with systematic working touch 1100 families. The following distances may be of service:—

Hokow to Yingkwanchiai	E. 190 li
Hokow to Sigolo	W. 130 ,,
Hokow to S. Chantui	N. 90 ,,
Hokow to Meilo	S. 300 ,, (?)

The altitude of Hokow is about the same as Batang, and the climate is equally warm and genial. At Hokow fine vegetables could be grown, but everything else would be more conveniently obtained in Tatsienlu, 330 li away. The telegraph office just opened will enable any one at Hokow to put himself in communication with the outside world when necessary.

VII

BATANG, THE LAST TOWN IN CHINA

BATANG is a village at the extreme west of the Mantze Marches, with a population of 400 families. West of Litang, 520 li, it is the centre of an important district, partly administered from Peking, and partly from Lhassa. In my diary of 1903 the city is thus described :—

"Batang lies at the foot of high mountains, in what at first seems to be an irregular hollow. The hills and plain are composed mainly of tenacious conglomerate, capable of producing wonderful crops when worked by tools and watered by the irrigation drains of the farmer. The plain slopes down to the Chihtsuen River, which hugs the mountain on the west, and is divided into two equal halves by the waters of the Taso River. On the north side the fields are burdened twice a year with a rich harvest, but on the south side a small thorn bush alone flourishes in the unwatered soil. The grass on the hills is poor: the same thorn bush and a few straggling pines endure alike the drought of summer and the snows of winter.

The town is a large one for these parts, distinctly Oriental in appearance, and with very little retail business. The main thoroughfare, 700 yards in length,

is wide and well paved, and from it branch out many important side streets, and a perfect maze of alleys besides. The houses, square and substantial, are built of mud and the tenacious formation mentioned above. Two storeys are the rule, but three are not uncommon. The roofs are flat, and a notched log is the only form of stairway known. A magnificent Lamasery, west of the town, with gold or gilded roofs and spires, contains 1500 Lamas, who pay little attention to either Peking or Lhassa. (It is called the Tinglinsze, and is now, 1907, a mass of ruins.) Another fine building to the right of the town, with much gold on roof and spires, and surrounded by 600 Mani windmills, is the home of the Batang chief."

The Batang district, according to the Tibetan Guide Book, formerly came under the Lhassa Government, but in the 4th year of Yongcheng (1727 A.D.) boundary stones were set up on the Ningching, Sisongkong, and Tahla plateaux; territory east of the aforesaid stones coming under the Peking administration, and that west under Lhassa. "In the 7th year of the same reign a Chief and Deputy-Chief with numerous Headmen (Tibetan Sinao) were set up. The population is (?) 37,360, of which 9480 are Lamas. The yearly tax is 3200 oz. of silver."

Now intelligent Chinese, as a rule, give the population of the above-mentioned region as 7000 families. This will agree with the Guide Book, and also tallies with the Chinese accounts of the regions between the Kinsha and Siangcheng. But so far, regions visited by the writer only account for 1100 families, thus:—

Sanpa, Bomi, East of Batang . .	100 families
Chihtsuen, North of Batang	100 ,,
Langto, Maoto Kangto, Lango, Mangsi, North of Chihtsuen	200 ,,
Chupalong (district on Kinshachiang) . .	200 ,,
Bamutang (Border district)	100 ,,
Batang, city and environs	400 ,,
Total of population in above districts . .	1100 families

But this would mean a population of nearly 6000 families in the region south of Batang. I give the following reasons for not seriously disputing the great discrepancy :—

1. The Roman Catholics have been working in this region (Yarikong and Yanching) for nearly half a century.

2. The Tibetan Guide Book, discussing a road from Batang to Chongtien in Yunnan, says of this region, known as Ruhyü (really Rongmi ?): "Ruhyü, 310 li from Batang, is a very fertile region with a warm genial climate. The village (?) is on the border of several districts, and has a population of 300 families governed by a Tibetan official. (Sinao) Atuengi is eight days' distant, and Tehrong four. The local Lamasery has 300 Lamas."

3. The statements of Chinese and Tibetans, which would tend to confirm the above. A report is quite common that during the recent embroglio at Batang 5000 families fled from this region into Anterior Tibet, of which 2000 have returned. Regarding the missing 3000, the Chinese have lied so systematically about depopulation that until further proof is forthcoming I cannot think of any great shrinkage in the population, and shall be much surprised if the required 6000

families are not a real factor in the missionaries' programme. But apart from the Batang district, altogether it must be remembered that there are contiguous regions under Lhassa which must be worked from this centre, viz. :

Sanai, with a population of probably			3000	families or	12,000	souls
Chiangka,	,,	,,	2000	,,	8000	,,
Linkasi,	,,	,,	1500	,,	6000	,,
Draya,	,,	,,	5000	,,	20,000	,,

This estimation, based on Chinese information, etc., if at all correct, gives 11,500 families or 46,000 souls. As Batang is the last town in China, and a centre for both Anterior Tibet and the Marches, the floating population will always be large and important, and it is not unlikely that in the near future it will be the capital of the Marches if not of a large portion of Anterior Tibet.

Until lately the native population of Batang was controlled by a Tibetan chief and his deputy. At the conclusion of the late war they were deemed guilty of high treason and executed, their families being taken captive to Chengtu. The head chief, whose ancestors were from Yunnan, a Chinese named Lo, was a second official of the Chinese Empire, and a third-class native ruler. His daughter, a pretty maiden of sixteen, is in captivity in the Commissary's residence. She seems quite happy, and it is rumoured that the official has proposed making her his daughter-in-law, but the mother, now a captive in Chengtu, declines the honour. At present the government of Batang is directly under a fifth-class Chinese official, who must perforce hear and decide cases through an interpreter, a method

which practically leaves the community in the hands of dissolute and untrustworthy half-castes.

The climate of Batang is described as "genial." In August and September it is hot and stifling, with swarms of pestiferous flies in the daytime, and mosquitoes, bed-bugs, lice, and fleas at night. In the winter snow seldom, if ever, falls, and the cold is comparable to that of Chengtu. Water boils at 195·6° F., but the atmospheric pressure varies greatly, 1° F., or an equivalent of 500 feet in altitude, being quite common. As in Litang, hot springs abound, and have a therapeutic reputation second only to those of the former place. Thirty years ago a severe earthquake devastated the district, and one wonders if the high, thin, mud walls of the ordinary houses may not be fated to go tumbling to ruins any night. But apart from such outbreaks of nature they are roomy, comfortable, and enduring, and with little expense might be turned into suitable foreign dwellings.

The food procurable at Batang is well suited to foreigners. Beef, mutton, game, eggs, and milk may be had daily, and while the fields produce oats, wheat, maize, barley, and buckwheat, the gardens abound with cabbage, turnips, pumpkins, onions, carrots, and potatoes. Fruits are not so numerous, but peaches, pears, grapes, and walnuts may be had in their season. I know of no domestic animal which does not live and thrive in Batang.

Dysentery, typhus, and typhoid seem to be the great scourges, but might be largely modified by attention to the water-supply, which all comes from the Taso River through an irrigation drain. The town is well in the centre of a carefully manured area,

and water passing through any one of the above drains is soon highly polluted. But to make matters really serious, some genius has arranged that a drain should run right down the street, into which a stream of water is directed night and morning. When one sees the filth and refuse which daily pollutes the water everywhere, dysentery, typhus, and typhoid are no mystery.

VIII

LITANG, THE HIGHEST CITY IN THE WORLD

LITANG is a Chinese and Tibetan village nestling in the corner of an enormous plain, and is the capital of a nomadic district of the same name. Situated at an altitude of nearly 14,000 feet (B.P. 199·4°; Temp. 60° F.) it may perhaps claim to being the highest city in the world. The Guide Book to Tibet gives the following information regarding this city :—"Litang is 650 li from Tatsienlu and 520 from Batang. . . . In the 7th year of Yong-cheng (1730 A.D.) China first began to direct the government, and appointed native chiefs to rule in Litang, Washu, Chongsi, Chüehteng, Maoyang, and other places ranging in rank from 4 B. to 6 C., the titles being hereditary. The population is roughly estimated at 40,000 laymen and 3849 Lamas."

In the town and environs the following figures, though based on official information, are given tentatively :—

Lamas, servants, and students in Lamasery . .	5,000
Tibetans in immediate vicinity	2,000
Chinese, Tibetan concubines of same, and children	1,000
Nomads on plain and hills around . . .	1,000
Soldiers, servants, and concubines of same . .	1,000
Total population based on official information .	10,000

Litang, notwithstanding its dreary plain, rigorous climate, filthy street, and villainous Lamasery, must always be of great importance to China. It is in the first place on the official road to Lhassa, and also the natural centre of some 5000 Tibetan families in the south. Then the nomads to the north, probably 3200 families, find it their only centre, and traders from Chantui, Sanai, and even Derge visit it in large numbers. The population of the district I give with some hesitation as follows :—

Nomads, Maoyang, Chüehteng, Bonyag, etc., Chongsi	13,000
Local population—Chinese Tibetans, half-castes, etc.	10,000
Siangcheng, Kongkalin, Taopa, etc.. . . .	16,000
Shomba, Molashih, Tsosang	10,000
Chinese officials, soldiers, etc., in above regions .	1,000
Total population of region formerly under Litang, Tusze or Chiefs	50,000

Litang is likely to remain an important military centre. It is about the middle of the Marches. In the south are the insolent tribesmen of Taopa and Siangcheng; to the south-east the semi-independent region of Meilo, with large and turbulent Lamaseries. Hordes of the independent Chantui, and perhaps also the incorrigible Sanai, threaten on the north, and the local opulent Lamasery will not be slow to take advantage of inefficient administration. From the above it will be seen that the Chinese official, trader, or colonist is only safe as long as China has an army on the spot strong enough to intimidate her relentless and dissatisfied " barbarians."

There is also a possibility that Litang will remain an influential religious centre. The Lamas at present number about 3000, but to this must be added servants,

students, and pilgrims. Now that the Batang Lamasery is a heap of ruins and that of Siangcheng a Chinese barracks, Litang seems to have no serious rival, and if the Lamas behave themselves they may profit immeasurably by the widespread suffering of their unfortunate brethren in other places.

The above will all have a direct bearing on the commercial status of Litang. Food, clothing, wares, and luxuries for officials, soldiers, and Tibetans must all be brought in from Tatsienlu and retailed here, while a large export trade in gold, drugs, hides, and Tibetan commodities may be expected.

Until recently the government of the Litang region was semi-independent. Apart from the nomad chiefs mentioned above, the political power was in the hands of two native chiefs of high rank, the offices and titles of whom were hereditary. In their ancestral halls, just outside the village of Litang, they jointly controlled the tribes of Taopa, Kongkalm, Siangcheng, and the regions east of Hokow.

Although for many years defied by the southern tribes, and intimidated by the Lamas locally, it was not until the murder of the Imperial Commissioner Feng at Batang that they showed open signs of insubordination by delaying the transport service. When the generals of China arrived and demanded Ulag the chiefs were "not at home" for a month; then sufficient animals would not arrive, and finally the ancient Courier service was not only arbitrarily abolished by their orders, but trains of ammunition, provisions, and accoutrements were left to spoil on the roadside. Finally, important despatches were destroyed, and companies of natives and arms were sent to the assistance of the Taopa and Siangcheng rebels.

When the Chinese returned victorious, the head chief had fled into Tibet with his family and belongings, and threats and promises of rewards alike failed to unearth him. His colleague remaining at his post in Litang was taken prisoner, with the understanding that his case should be tried at Chengtu; but the triumphal procession had not gone far when it was known that the scion of royalty had taken poison, and before Hochuka was reached he had nothing to fear from earthly justice or injustice. Shortly afterwards, a proclamation by H.E. Chao, Warden of the Marches, abolished the ancient order of chiefs existing in Litang for ever. The northern sub-chiefs remained unchanged; the immediate region of Litang, laymen and priest, came under the Commissary of Litang; and Siangcheng and Taopa are yet under martial law. Just what the future form of government will be is not easy to say; but we may be almost certain that the Lamas, humbled and warned by the fate of Batang and Sampeiling, will not by influence or action complicate the Chinese programme.

The street or business part of Litang is about 300 yards long, narrow, and alarmingly filthy. The flat-roofed wooden houses are not more than ten feet high, and jumbled together in such a manner that only one or two alleys, not more than two feet wide, exist in the settlement. Somewhere behind are stables and cesspools, which, drenched with rain one day and broiled in the sun the next, warn one that typhus in the future may call for a heavy tribute. At night the inhabitants use both street and roofs as latrines, and trust to the wild dogs or rain to cleanse them! Outside the city, on three sides at least, besides the reeking

slaughter-house grounds, are ancient heaps of manure, refuse, and such various assortments of filth that one's very clothes seem to be permeated with it. Where it all comes from, and why the whole population is not swept away by some weird plague, is a mystery.

The people of Litang seem robust and healthy, but foreigners should remember that the sudden changes, of almost daily occurrence, will seriously menace those with weak chests and poor circulations. Headaches, vomiting, vertigo, palpitation, and depression may make residence in Litang impossible for some time; and no doubt prolonged residence at an altitude of 14,000 feet will more or less seriously affect the frames and minds of all.

Although the climate of Litang is so rigorous, a bright sunshine even in winter is rarely absent, but the nights are Arctic beyond doubt. It is then that the Chinese tell of frost-bite, pleurisy, pneumonia, rheumatism, and kidney complaints. Snow falls most abundantly during February and March. During the spring thaw a malady characterised by swelling in the feet, hands, abdomen, and other parts is very common, and it is rather uncomfortable to learn also that typhus has made large demands on the Chinese soldiery. The writer finds little difficulty in living at Litang, although indigestion, dysentery, pleurisy, and rheumatism have made their demands in other places.

On such an elevated plateau, bleak and unproductive, many peculiar problems confront the missionary. The sudden changes of summer and the intense cold of winter would call for good food and unlimited quantities of suitable fuel; while the insanitary conditions of the city demand means for sterilising

everything. Although meats, fish, game, butter, and milk abound, eggs, rice, flour, meal, tsamba, vegetables, and fruits must be brought in from Tatsienlu, ten days distant. And it is the same with tea, sugar, salt, and almost every necessary and luxury of life. Wood and charcoal come from districts seventy li away, and are very expensive. Cow manure fires may be endured by some, but wood for building, furniture, and ordinary culinary purposes will be a serious item now and in the future.

Again, when it is remembered that water in Litang boils at 187·5° F. it will be imagined what a tedious matter cooking is. Tea must be stewed, and other articles cooked for such an unconscionable period that one is forced to think the country more suited to the age of Jared and Methuselah than to an age where the septuagenarian is an old man. The town, moreover, is filthy beyond belief, and in order to kill bacteria as well as cook with ease there seems no escape from specially prepared utensils. When building or repairing houses and making the family furniture, carpenters must be arranged for at Tatsienlu.

The above geographical disadvantages should not in any great measure affect the value of Litang as a mission centre. Men have gone to regions more isolated, more unhealthy, and more devoid of the ordinary comforts of life, but seldom have men had to face such complicated ethnological problems as abound in Litang. Briefly, religion, morality, and politics will all hamper the missionary just when success seems imminent. The Tibetan priest, partly from policy, partly from belief, abhors apostasy, and converts to Christianity from lay or priestly ranks will find themselves little better than

social outcasts, with their lives often in danger. Again, the time may come when the temporary or secondary wives of officials, soldiers, and traders may wish to enter the Church; or the nomad woman with two or more consorts may make a similar application. In all such cases how must the missionary act or advise?

But on the whole the political condition of the Marches will complicate matters most seriously. For instance, let us think of the countless officials with retinues who live in these regions temporarily without Chinese wives; and of the merchants scattered here and there for whom it is a matter of policy to take concubines temporarily. This, of course, implies an enormous amount of polygamy, polyandry, and prostitution, for, after about three years, official, soldier, and merchant is ready to return to China, where a "barbarian" wife and bastard progeny would hardly harmonise. The woman in such cases, without hesitation, forms a new alliance, and the children as often as not become Lamas.

China does not see it, but this is the Achilles' heel which will hamper her plans to the end. It means this, that by shutting out the women of China she is not only intensifying an already low morality, but merging many of her sons in the Tibetan Marches. Apart from these ethical difficulties, complicated by China's rule, the fact remains that the Marches have been "conquered" before, and it is hard to predict how long her activity will continue, and to what effect it will permanently affect the history of East Tibet. A bad or supine Government may at any time cause a political ebullition fatal to many years' work. The history of the Catholic

Tibetan Mission, twice almost blotted out, is significant to those who know the Marches.

Litang has jurisdiction west about 300 li to Sampa, but apart from nomads, the settlement of Lamaya, and the Courier stations there is no population. Lamaya is a small Tibetan settlement 160 li west of Litang, with a population of forty odd farmers, some nomads, and a Chinese garrison of eighty adults. The valley, which is warm and genial, is well cultivated, and around are hinterlands of rich grass lands, on which the flocks of the Bonyag and Maoyang chiefs graze occasionally. During the late rebellion three of the village headmen were executed and the place was for a time depopulated, but judging from the conditions of their homesteads and fields the community was not harshly treated. The main roads to Batang and Siangcheng bifurcate here, and the Tibetans in the Siangcheng valley, Hochu, Tongchong, and Tingpo can be most conveniently visited.

Siancheng is five days distant, and the road suitable for chairs and pack animals. The following account of the stages was given to me at Hochu :—

Lamaya to Hochu	70 li
Chioherken to Tongchong (high pass) . .	130 ,,
Tongchong to Hochu	80 ,,
Hochu to Siangcheng	80 ,,
Total, Lamaya to Siangcheng, about . .	360 li

The population between Lamaya and Tongchong is about 100 families. The second day is long and difficult, and it is usual to camp out on the Chiang-chüin-shan, a high and difficult pass.

IX

TOWARDS THE SOURCES OF THE GREAT YANGTZE RIVER, OR FARTHEST WEST

Earlier in my report several regions contiguous to Batang were mentioned. The following account, compiled from notes on a journey to the border of Anterior Tibet, will deal with the same subject. Bamutang, the last Courier house in the Marches, is three days south-west of Batang, and at a point where the Yunnan and Tibetan roads bifurcate. The road, after leaving Batang, follows the Chihtsuen River to the foot of the Tsalong, a small but very tedious pass. A large number of ruined villages were passed, and we had opportunity of examining the work of the Chinese punitive expedition. Although two Headmen and other less important Tibetans are reported to have been executed, one cannot but conclude from the flourishing condition of the fields that the bulk of the people escaped with their cattle and baggage. From the summit of the Tsalong Pass the great Kinsha bursts into view. In my diary of 1903 I thus described it: "Below was a muddy swollen river, hemmed in by high sloping mountains. Coming mysteriously out of the hills beyond, it runs for miles in an almost straight line south. There is nothing remarkable about it except

that it is the Yangtze, now nearly 3000 miles from the ocean, and to reach its source one must penetrate thousands of miles into an unknown and hostile land. On its banks for myriads of years men and women have fought with the fever called "Living." It alone knows the history of Tibetan, Lolo, Miao, and many a wild race now forgotten by men. Its fertilising waters bring life and wealth to millions, and of its future possibilities men begin to dream. Mankind has paid homage to the sun, moon, stars, lakes, mountains, rivers, animals, and even the imperfect work of their own hands, but why is it that such a river, flowing over two-thirds of the most ancient and opulent of continents, should gain so little attention? Is it that its immensity and mystery bewilders the mind? I, a wanderer in the Far West, think of what the exploration of its course will mean to science, and have no doubt that men will soon pluck its flowers, test its rocks, and shoot its animals. But the missionary's aim is different. His aim is to oust false faiths from its mouth to its source and to establish in their stead a religion purer than anything conceived by the great and self-denying Gautama!"

Winding gradually down the slope from Tsalong, the road, after about ten li, reaches the settlement of Siaoshumaokow, or Bali, where there is a ferry to the lower Sanai region. This Sanai is an immense territory lying in a semicircle round the west and north of the Batang district. It has a population of perhaps 5000 families, and the Tusi, who is alleged to live somewhere between Batang and Chamdo, gives scanty allegiance to either Lhassa or Peking. The poem says: "The Sanai people are criminals who should suffer the

punishment of decapitation and exposure"; and Sarat describes it as a district "the whole community (of which) live by professional brigandage and robbery."

The Tibetans in the regions of Bali are mortally afraid of these wild tribesmen just opposite, and call them robbers without qualification. They dare not offend them on account of reprisals, and it is rumoured that the chief receives 400 taels annually from China on condition that his people do not pillage Chinese subjects. Those of the Sanai which I have seen are wild, independent fellows, wearing peculiarly shaped white felt hats with high crowns and broad brims. It is said they live far up the mountains, but just opposite Shuimaokow there is a settlement where the Sanai live during the season necessary for the cultivation of the fields on the river-bank. When winter comes they disappear in the unknown hills to the west. This alone, if true, would give the idea of a haphazard and predatory people.

Sanai was once under China, but for some reason Tibet claimed it and the former made no effort to regain it. During H.E. Chao's operations in the Marches, however, the subjugation of Sanai was part of China's policy. A party of men went north-west from Litang to the Sanai border and invited the chiefs to parley. As the discussion was going on a Gatling gun was brought out, and its powers tested on a rock in the presence of all. The effect was so vigorous that the chiefs tendered their allegiance immediately! "Sanai," says the Guide Book, "is east of Asutang and north of Chiangka. It is known as the district of the Bafan. The people are wild and fierce, and live by robbing travellers."

About ten li below Bali is Shuimaokow, a village with about 10 families and a Lamasery, situated at the mouth of a wild ravine. We started in the rain for Chupalong about 2.30 P.M., and things quickly went wrong. The river was in a high flood, and the road in many places deeply submerged, which demanded wild detours among prickly thorn bushes and uncompromising rocks. To make matters worse my animal was frisky and independent, and finally getting the bit out of his mouth and bolting down the bank into a clump of bushes by the river-side, brushed me clean into the swollen river. I got out without difficulty, but what with the rain falling in torrents, wet clothes, unbroken horses, and swollen rivers, I sent on word of my intention to my colleague Muir and ordered the caravan to return to Shuimaokow. In vain I waited for Muir, and finally concluded he had gone on to Chupalong. Every one in the settlement was kind, my room was excellent, and without much difficulty my garments were dried; all of which tended to minimise the carelessness of my Ulag driver. On the next morning my baggage was put into a triangular coracle and the escort and myself in two others, and in a short time all were safely at Chupalong. The river was very high, but smooth and unruffled as a pond, which made the journey quick and very pleasant. Muir, who had arrived the night before, had suffered little inconvenience from the detention of his bedding.

Chupalong is ninety li south of Batang, with a population of 30 families. A small official resides here whose duty it is to control the famous ferry over the Kinsha. The population, although slightly modified by Chinese colonists, petty officials, boatmen, and

others, is quite Tibetan in customs and language. We left Chupalong at 3 P.M., and crossed the Kinsha by an auxiliary ferry at a lonely place ten li below the village. The recent floods had made the roads difficult, not only bringing down avalanches of mud from landslips, but also flooding the plain and demanding, in one case, an arduous climb up the mountains through loose shingle and prickly jungle. It got dark also, and after temporarily losing the road (we with much difficulty struck it again lower down) we went on, pushing through thorns and stumbling over moraines, for many weary hours until Kongla was reached about 10 P.M.

Kongla is a settlement of about 15 families, near where the Tibetan road leaves the Kinsha for a more westerly course. With the villages of the Kongtzeting, and others on the mountain above, it would form a centre for about 70 families. On the left bank of the Kinsha is a road to Rongmi or Tsongtsah, and an unsubdued region farther south bordering on Siangcheng. The Chinese, probably actuated by ignorance and politeness, give the population of the former as 4000 families, and the latter as 1000 families. In low water coracles may reach Rongmi, and the road to both places is impassable when the river is even moderately high. However, roads also reach the regions *via* Taso and Yaerkong. The road from Kongla to Kongtzeting is about forty li, the ascent being easy and the scenery beautiful.

The pass is low, water boiling at 190·3° F., and in the pretty village of 25 families, a hundred feet or so lower, barley, wheat, turnips, and buckwheat were growing luxuriantly. After travelling on merrily through willow groves and oak jungle for twenty li, we came

in sight of a long, pretty, richly cultivated valley, at the end of which, after changing Ulag twice, we arrived at the post-house of Bamutang. The valley is about 12,500 feet high and has a population of at least 100 families, who have not suffered from the late punitive expedition.

The Lhassa territory is only twenty li distant, and there on the Ningchingshan is a famous boundary stone, beyond which no foreigner was allowed to proceed. Captain Gill describes his experience here as follows:—"I found Chao surrounded by 100 horsemen, and a quarter of a mile on the opposite hill some 300 Tibetans had encamped who had come out to oppose us." In 1904, F. Nicholls, an American, was turned south from Bamutang, armed cavalry barring his way in two directions. And three years ago, A. Hosie, Consul-General, and Mr. J. Moyes found armed men guarding the pass, who absolutely refused to allow them to set foot in Anterior Tibet.

The Guide Book to Tibet is quite clear about the boundary question, as the following will show:—(Beyond) "Bamutang is the Ningchingshan, where a pillar marks the boundary between China and Tibet. The summit is a plateau of forty li, and the stone is in the centre. All to the east is under Peking, and the territory west is governed by Lhassa. The pillar was put up by one Cheoying in the 5th year of Yongcheng (1728 A.D.), and established the Ningching Mountain above Ranteng as the eastern boundary of Tibet."

At Bamutang a request to visit the above mountain was promptly refused, but the next morning the Headman, two Chinese soldiers, Muir, and myself in spite of

sickness, rode up the steep short slope of clayey wastes and disintegrating rocks, and later over undulating steppes to a small Mani mound which marked the summit of the Ningchingshan. The pillar, a piece of rough sandstone, quite devoid of inscription, was to the right, and no longer in an upright position. We walked beyond it and boiled the hypsometer on the Lhassa side. A shepherd's rest-house was below, and herds of sheep were grazing on the grassy slopes, but not a sign of armed men guarding a sacred boundary was to be seen. Indeed it was a most ordinary place—pretty, green, and not very high—but it is unlikely that any Britisher had ever been permitted to enter Anterior Tibet *via* the Ningchingshan.

Suddenly the thought came, "Let us go on and see if any one will stop us!" So making our desire known to the Chinese and Tibetan escort, who made no objection, we rode on. Nothing happened until, when about five li down the mountain side, two men suddenly appeared and came right over to us. They informed us that we were in the Dalai's region, spoke of robbers, made a formal protest, and then left us. We rode on, and soon came to cultivated fields, homesteads, and a Lamasery.

Our road now went down a beautiful peaceful valley, well cultivated and with about 50 families, and then heading north-west in a short time took us into the important village of Ranteng. We had dinner in the official "Kongkuan," a decaying building used by the Ambans and misused by every one else. The people were exceptionally friendly, showing no sign of resentment, and we, after chatting awhile, looking around the village, and taking an altitude, returned to Bamutang

without incident. The Guide Book describes Ranteng as "an important place" 140 li from Chiangka. "It has a population of 60 families, and in the 7th month of each year the people of Batang and Chamdo meet here at a great fair and transact business."

Chiangka, mentioned above, is both a village and a district, formerly coming under the Kökönor Government, but in the 1st year of Yong-cheng (1723 A.D.) it was claimed by the Tibetan authorities. The people of Chiangka are notorious robbers, and its winds are proverbial.

Draya, a contiguous region, is described as being "500 li east of Chamdo. Three great ranges encircle it, and two rivers meet within its borders. The district is poor and the people are noted for robbing, fighting, and the irregularities of their matrimonial relations. In Draya is a famous Lamasery where all marriages formerly took place. (At the great gatherings there) when the people were singing and making merry the men sprinkled tsamba on the heads of their penchants, and the alliances were irrevocably settled." "Draya has many thieves," says the poem, and "Be careful in your dealings with the wild Draya" is the warning of the proverb.

1400 li west of Batang is Chamdo, where China has placed the most important of her ordinary officials. I conclude the region between Ranteng and Chamdo is thickly populated:—

(1) Judging by the extraordinary river system obtaining (the Mekong, Salwen, and farther south the Irrawadi), which suggests relatively low and fertile valleys conducive to a large population; and

(2) The remarkable bifurcation of the roads (see

map) between Chiangka and Chamdo, which would imply the same thing.

The peculiar political conditions obtaining west of Bamutang will leave Mission prospects uncertain for some time to come, but when the region is opened, then in conjunction with the relatively important population in the Yunnan Marches to the south of Batang the missionary will find an exceptionally important and interesting field demanding his attention.

X

THE UNEXPLORED REGION SOUTH OF LITANG

In September 1907 the unsurveyed regions south of Litang were visited, and before returning to Litang we spent quite a number of days in Siangcheng, which, until recently, was ruled by the Lamas of the famous Sampeiling. Starting from Batang, the course followed was eight days south-east, and then east and north for ten days more. After leaving the official road near the summit of the Sanpa Pass, 170 li east of Batang, the distance to Siangcheng is about 400 li. The first stage on the non-official road was from Bomi to Tingpo, 130 li. The path, which was rough and dangerous all the way, was on the left bank of the Taso River. We arrived without accident, but if some of our loads had been lost no one would have been very surprised. From Tingpo, a large settlement governed by Litang, a good road takes the traveller first to Yüanken, seventy li distant, and then crossing a pretty pass leads into the valley of Hochu, where the official road to Siangcheng *via* Lamaya is joined by the Tingpo one. Hochu is only ninety li from Siangcheng, but a difficult, picturesque pass, the Mapala (over 14,000 feet), must be crossed before the mysterious valley of the Lamaya River is reached.

At Siangcheng, roads branch out in all directions. The official road, and the best in every way, goes out *via* Hochu to Lamaya, where it meets the Lhassa highway; another, passing through Upper Siangcheng in a more northerly direction, finally reaches Litang *via* Taopa and Shömpa; and a third, passing down the Lamaya River through Lower Siangcheng and crossing the Mora Pass, after skirting the important region of Kongkalin finally joins the second route at Taopa. Again, another from Siangcheng to Rongmi leaves the Batang-Siangcheng road just above Yüanken, by means of which either Chongtien or Atuentze may be reached.

The above places, however, are more easily reached by following an important road five days south to Chongtien. With Litang solely as an objective the Kongkalin road chosen by us is the most difficult, but even here pack animals travel with ease, and there is no reason why chairs should not be used. The distance from Siangcheng to Litang *via* Hsia Siangcheng and Taopa is about 700 li, and six easy passes, as a rule not less than 15,000 feet, must be crossed. With one or two exceptions, unless camping-out is resorted to, stages of 120 li must be traversed and all provisions carried.

In this region the only centre is Siangcheng, which, with out-stations, would reach innumerable districts both in Szechwan and Yunnan. The local population is 1600 families, but west is Hochu (including Yüanken, Tingpo, and Tongchong) with 400 families, the settlements of which are in no cases more than two days distant. To the east is Mora, Lhamo, and Kongkalin, with 700 families, two and three days distant; and between one and two days farther in a northerly direction

are the plains and valleys of Taopa, Ratsa, Goa, Shaemo, and Napo, with a total population of 800 families. The districts of Teho, Shömpa, and Molashïh in the Lichu basin, being only two days from Litang, would be more conveniently worked from that centre. The settlement of Molashïh, probably not above 11,000 feet, would with Tsosang, Shömpa, Teho, and nomads form a centre for nearly 1000 families. To the south of Siangcheng five days is Chongtien, an important centre in the Yunnan Marches. At Ongshui, the first village in the Yunnan Marches, and only one day from Lower Siangcheng, is a garrison of Chinese troops, who may be stationed there with the object of intimidating the proud Lamasery of Kueihuasze, with 2000 Lamas, which is alleged to exist two days to the south.

The importance of Chongtien may be inferred from the following notes culled from the Guide Book to Tibet: "The journey from Batang to Chongtienting is 1000 li, occupying eighteen days. The official controlling this centre has a district of 300 li. The local patois is not Tibetan, but the religion is the Lamaism of that country, and a temple in the vicinity has 2000 Lamas. A great plain extending out from the city is literally packed with people. . . . Likiangfu, six days from Chongtien, was formerly the centre of six confederacies known in ancient times as Motzechao. In the reign of Hongu of the Ming dynasty the chief Atehshuaichong gave allegiance to China, and was made a perpetual prefect of the Empire, and given the name of Muh by Imperial command. In the 1st year of Yong-cheng (1723 A.D.) the chief submitted to the Manchus, and was made a native ruler with jurisdiction over the Nine Barbarians (Chuyi) within the borders, viz. Motze, Lili,

Lolo, Kutsong, Sifan, Pachü, Tzemao, and the Chiuyi and Nuyi dwelling on the Salwen River. Beyond the city is a famous snow mountain, which Meng of the Nanchao Confederacy arbitrarily proclaimed to be the Northern Hell. The temple is still in existence."

The village of Siangcheng, with hot summers and mild winters, is about 10,500 feet, and the community exists entirely upon the produce of their fields. But the other centres, such as Hochu, Taopa, and Shömpa, being above 12,000 feet, the farming is only supplementary, the flocks and herds forming the real wealth of the people. The people of Tingpo, Yüanken, and Hochu are quiet and friendly, but those of Siangcheng, Taopa, and Kongkalin are cruel and turbulent; while in the Molashi region they are suspicious and truculent.

In all this great region the power of the Lamas is completely broken, but many years must elapse before a suitable or permanent form of government is established. At present strong garrisons in the turbulent centres will kill the too common political ebullition of the old regime, but the old hatred of Chinese and foreigners will still be there as a serious hindrance to mission work. Although I think it would be unwise to force ourselves into Siangcheng at present, systematic but careful itineration in the whole region would be both possible and desirable. The missionary will remember that provisions must be carried, and the summer months alone are suitable for itinerating in the regions above 12,000 feet. In the winter months there is a great scope for work in the warm valleys of Siangcheng, and to the south, where the population is probably more numerous.

XI

KING SO AND HIS PEOPLE, OR A TRIP TO TUNGLIN SHAN IN WASSŬ

Tunglin Shan is the home of the kings or chiefs of the Wassŭ. The quasi-independent territory of Wassŭ is distant only 90 miles, or four days' journey from Chengtu. Its mountains would be hard to surpass for picturesque grandeur; its jungles teem with wild animals, many of them exceedingly rare; its people are interesting and relatively numerous; its religion is the mysterious and almost unknown Bomism.

The Tsung or fastness of King So is some 2000 feet above the right bank of the River Min, 5 miles from the small district city of Wênchwan. A winding path leads up the mountain side, the first part of the way over bare slopes, the second through thick jungle and clumps of trees. Scattered about the hillsides, always in commanding positions, are Mantze houses surrounded by small cultivated patches. As the road ascends a fine Chorten is passed, Tibetan in every detail, and later on one comes to a long irregular line of white stones, placed there, so the natives say, to scare away the evil genii who are ever trying to destroy the crops.

Tunglin Shan itself is invisible until the traveller is within a few yards of its gates. Its position is strategic

ally almost perfect. Facing the Min River, it is guarded by an inaccessible precipice; the road from Wênchwan is exposed and easily commanded by the fire of invisible defenders; in the rear, steep mountain sides, bare of cover, and deep ravines would render a successful attack from that direction well-nigh impossible. The houses in the fastness are built of solid stone, the larger of them surrounded by high towers. The alleys—one can hardly call them streets—are narrow, indescribably dirty and evil-smelling. The settlement contains some 60 families.

The state of Wassŭ (or Luerku), in Tibetan, Lu Tsa Wa, is a mountainous tract of country ruled by hereditary chiefs. The natives of Wassŭ belong to the Ching or Chia Rung stock, and number some 2000 families. To these must be added another 2000 families of immigrants from the Wênchwan and Lifan districts, who have become naturalised Chia Rung, and a number of Chinese itinerant dealers and pedlars. The total population is probably not far short of 20,000.

The Wassŭ live in settlements and build their houses of stone with flat roofs as in Tibet. Here and there a gabled structure denotes the presence of Chinese settlers. The real religion of the people is Bomism, but the presence of the Chortens, Mani mounds, incense stoves, and prayer flags shows that the influence of Lhassa must be reckoned with.

The rulers of the Wassŭ are hereditary chiefs who pay tribute to China at long intervals, but are otherwise practically independent. King So has the power of life and death over his people, and his rule is despotic in the extreme. Should he abuse his power, however, he knows full well that his people would secede in a body

to China or pass over into some other state. The history of these states shows that this has often occurred, and this voluntary expatriation of discontented subjects has been the ruin of many a principality. So pays tribute to Peking every twelve years, and to the Viceroy at Chengtu every five.

It is said that So's ancestors came from Ngari about five centuries ago to assist in quelling intertribal fighting among the Chia Rung. Chinese historians claim that the territory of Wassŭ was presented to one Lo Loh Su, So's ancestor, for services rendered at this time; but the Chinese records of the history of Szechwan are notoriously untrustworthy, and it is more probable that So conquered the territory and remained there without asking for or obtaining China's permission.

King So, although a very fine fellow and a personal friend of the writer's, has many bad habits. He is a slave to opium, a heavy drinker, and an inveterate gambler. He is very friendly to foreigners, and if properly approached will always assist travellers with escorts through his territory and passports into adjoining states.

We called on the King the day of our visit to Tunglin Shan, but although it was nearly noon the potentate was still in bed. We accordingly paid a visit to the neighbouring Lamasery, where we were well received by the Lamas and had a good opportunity to examine a Bom temple. It seems that the mind of man could hardly conceive anything so flagrantly obscene as the idols and decorations of this temple. The most persistent prominence is given to the Vidam groups, which are not only represented in the usual idol form, but in paintings which literally cover the walls. Aphrodisia seems to be

one of the essential features of the Bomist worship, and it is the one topic of all the representations in the temple at Tunglin Shan. Nevertheless, the followers of the Bom-po acknowledge fealty to Lhassa, their priests go up to the Holy City for study, and without the Lhassa ordination and the blessing of the Dalai Lama no Lama in Wassŭ is held to be of any account.

There are only three Lamas in the Tunglin Lamasery. The Abbot is old and far gone in consumption, but his successor is a most interesting young man, vigorous alike in mind and in body. He is, moreover, a younger brother, or rather cousin, of the Wassŭ chief. This relationship between the Lamas and the chiefs is very common, and helps to explain how the latter are able to maintain their independence. In the Tsaku Lao Lamasery the principal Lamas are all relatives of native chiefs; the brother of the chief of Chos Chia is a Lama, and the present king of Chagla belongs to a family of Lamas. The Lamaseries of Wassŭ are small and often in ruins; there are probably not more than one hundred Lamas in the state.

Later in the day the King received us and entertained us in royal fashion. He showed an intelligent interest in current affairs, both in China and Tibet. The dinner that followed was a terrible experience, course on course being brought on in quick succession, until we were obliged to pretend fatigue and the lateness of the hour as a means of escape. An hour's scramble down the mountain side brought us back to Wênchwan, well pleased with our day's outing.

APPENDIX

Note on the Relationships existing between the Rulers of the Chia Rung and Feudal States

The doyen of the rulers is Kao, military chief of Tsaku Lao.

Chos Chia.—The chief of Chos Chia is Kao's uncle, the former's wife being Kao's aunt.

Damba.—The ruler of Damba is married to a younger sister of Kao's mother.

rTsung Kang.—The ruler rTsung is married to the eldest daughter of Kao's sister.

Wassŭ.—Kao's eldest son is married to the Wassŭ chief's sister.

Badi Bavang.—The Queen of this state is a daughter of the chief of Chos Chia and therefore Kao's cousin.

Chogs Chi.—The Queen of Chogs Chi is Kao's cousin through the Damba family.

Somo.—The chief of Somo is Kao's cousin.

Kampo.—The heir-apparent of Kampo is married to Kao's daughter.

It will be noticed that all these connections are in the female line.

XII

THE CHIA RUNG STATES

This chapter deals with the Chia Rung states of Badi Bawang, Chos Chia, Damba, Choga Chi, rTsung Kang, Langskar, Somo, Wassŭ, and the feudal states of Tsaku Lao, Hsia Mou, Kanpo, and Chiu Tzu. I shall first describe their political status in relation to Peking; secondly, the influence of Lamaism in relation to Lhassa; and thirdly, the prospects of mission work in these regions.

These states cover the country directly west of Kwanhsien and Sungpan, having an area roughly speaking of 300 miles from west to east and 400 miles from north to south. This territory seems to have puzzled geographers, and as a rule the states are not marked on the map, or if some are marked, their relative positions are incorrectly given. In some maps they are included in Tibet, in others they are made to form part of the province of Szechwan. Quite arbitrarily map-makers have run a line through the middle of these states, labelling one side Tibet and the other China.

Why, for instance, are Badi Bawang, Somo, and Wassŭ merged into Szechwan, while Chos Chia, Damba, and Langskar are made to belong to Tibet? As a

matter of fact all these states are independent, their rulers being thoroughgoing despots who seldom, if ever, pay any attention to China's claims of suzerainty. They wage inter-tribal wars without asking China's permission or invoking her aid. They are not, as is the case with feudal states, bound to render China military service, and as a rule there are no Chinese permanently settled in the territory, nor are Chinese advisers appointed to the native courts.

The following exception may, however, be noted. In a few states Chinese have founded colonies, and there are Chinese officials with, as it were, Consular functions whose jurisdiction only extends to their own people. These colonists usually marry native women, but their offspring are classed as Chinese subjects. But Chinese who enter the states for trade protection or adventure must submit to the authority of the native rulers. They become naturalised, in which case they marry native women—Chinese women rarely cross the border—and their children speak their mother's language and adopt her nationality. Chinese are insulted and sometimes murdered in these states with impunity; Chinese officials are often denied admission. In 1903 the writer's Chinese escort was peremptorily ordered out of Chos Chia, no explanation being given. In most cases the foreign traveller in these states will find his Chinese passport quite useless, possibly a cause of suspicion and obstruction.

It is obvious, therefore, whatever the maps may say, that these native states cannot be included in China Proper. It is doubtful whether the suzerainty claimed by China over the imperfectly known regions of Inner and Outer Tibet is anything more than a name. In

the temporal affairs of the Chia Rung states China has no voice; in spiritual affairs they acknowledge the supremacy and direction of the Lama hierarchy in Lhassa. Politically and ecclesiastically the boundary of China runs through the districts of Yachou, Kwanhsien, Wênchwan, and Maochow. Theoretically, the territory to the west of this line, *i.e.* the Chia Rung states, are tributary to China and under the jurisdiction of the Viceroy of Szechwan; practically, they acknowledge no obedience save that of fear. Their position is analogous to that of the independent and semi-independent states in India.

The districts in the neighbourhood of Maochow and Lifanting are, however, more directly controlled by China. Tsaku Lao, Shang, and Hsia Mou and Kanpo have resident Chinese military officials, and the natives hold their land under the feudal system.

Lamaism is all-powerful in the Chia Rung states, and appears in three forms, the Yellow, Red, and Black systems. The former, first in importance and numbers, is the state religion and owns as its head the pontiffs at Lhassa and Tasilumpo. The people of these states are bound by the strongest ties of race instincts, education, and religion to Lhassa. It is their Holy City, and the abode of their gods. To it all Lamas who aspire to rule their fellows go for study; all appointments to official posts in the Church are made by Lhassa. It is the place of pilgrimage for all devout tribesmen, and what Jerusalem was to the Jews and Mecca to the Mohammedans.

The Red or Nying sect of Lamas is, as I have said, not so influential as the Yellow. They are regarded as unorthodox, although their priests often study in

Lhassa. Their ritual is not so elaborate as that of the Yellow, but otherwise their temples and religious symbols differ little from those of the "established Church." Their priests are allowed to marry, and are therefore objects of scorn to their orthodox brethren. The sect, although not officially recognised, is tolerated by China.

The Bonpo or Black sect of Lamaism is a mystery and awaits investigation. If it were not for an outward conformity with the ritual of the Yellow and Red Churches, we should be tempted to dissociate it from Buddhism altogether. It is apparently the remains of the old nature worship of Tibet, which probably underlies most of the religious systems of the East. It has always been regarded as the enemy of the "Gelugpa" or orthodox Lamaism, and as such has been ruthlessly persecuted. The Bonpos defy the Gelugpa in many ways; they refuse to repeat the mystic formula, "On mani pami hom"; they pass sacred objects with the left instead of the right side turned towards the idol; they perversely turn their prayer-wheels from left to right instead of *vice versa*.

The Bonpo temples differ entirely from those of the Gelugpa and Nyingpa, and are usually strikingly picturesque. The Bonpo temple at Linka in Badi Bawang is a fine building, and here may be seen indisputable proofs, in the form of grossly indecent male and female idols, of the Phallic tendencies of their worship. The priests assert that their principal symbol is the famous cross of Svastika, known to the Tibetans as the "Yungdrung." The "Chyong" or "Garuda," a mystical bird, is also in great favour with the Bom; it is regarded as an emblem of fruitfulness,

and also supposed to be the general factotum of the gods.

Notwithstanding the persecution it has been subjected to, "Bomism" has obtained a firmer hold on the people of these states than any other religion. I found the priests uniformly friendly, and I consider their moral character quite equal to, if not better than, their orthodox brethren. The supreme deity of the Boms is called "Zun Zang Nam Sum."

The Chia Rung states are a most favourable field for carefully directed missionary enterprise. It is conveniently situated close to China Proper, but isolated from other mission fields. Kwanhsien would be the natural headquarters of the Chia Rung mission. Wassŭ is only 40 miles distant on the right bank of the Min, and following the same road over the Pan Lan Mountains one arrives at Mow Kong (Mu Kung Ting). The famous north road to Sungpan passes through Kwanhsien, branching off at Weichow to Lifanting. Beyond Kwanhsien are three places from which missionary work in unknown and populous regions might be conducted: Tsaku Lao, four days' march from Kwanhsien, an important Chia Rung centre on the borders of the Somo territory. Mow Kong, eight days west of Kwanhsien, in the midst of the Chia Rung highlands, has an important Chinese colony. From here access could be gained to the independent states of Somo, Damba, Chos Chia, Chogs Chi, and rTsung Kang, as well as countless small tribes in the Muping district. Romei Chango, besides being a meeting-place for the men of Chala, Badi Bawang, Kas Stag, and a populous territory east of Dawo, would form an excellent base from which to work the countless Chia Rung tribes in

the Tsung Hwa and Hsu Chung regions to the north. Only four days away from Romei Chango are the independent states of Chogs Chi and Damba.

The Lamaseries in this region are distributed as follows:—Bawang, 300 Lamas; the Bom Lamasery at Linka, 120; the Yellow Lamasery at the same place, 350; the large Lamasery at Tsung Hwa, subsidised by the Chinese Government, known as Ea Kuang Su, 500. In all probability there are quite 1500 Lamas in this region.

Conditions are favourable in spite of the warlike spirit of the people, their intense superstition, and some undesirable customs. I strongly suspect that in mediæval times the Chia Rung states formed part of a confederation known as the Nu Kuo or Matriarchal Kingdoms. The rulers appear to have been women, and inheritance of power and property passed down in the female line. Relics of this system are still to be found. Damba is said to be ruled by a woman, and women sometimes rule in Somo. In Badi Bawang the most influential person at the present time is a woman. Certainly women, after the Lamas, are the dominant factor in most of these states.

The population of this region may, very roughly, be estimated as follows:—Badi Bawang, 20,000; Chos Chia, 150,000; Somo, Langskar, rTsung Kang, and Damba, 310,000; Kas Stag, 12,000; Wassŭ and Muping, 30,000; Tsung Hwa and Hsu Ching, 30,000; Feudal states (Tsakulao, etc.) 30,000—Total, 528,000. This estimate does not include the thickly populated region which embraces the head waters of the Tung River, to the south of Sung Pan.

The Chia Rung live in settlements of from 50 to 500

families, most admirably suited for defence. They are situated high up on the mountain sides, and while practically inaccessible from above, they command all approaches from below. Their houses are evidently constructed for defensive purposes. Built of solid blocks of stone, they are usually three, sometimes four storeys high, surmounted by a flat roof with battlements, the walls pierced with loopholes and narrow windows. In the lower courtyard are the sheep-pens and cow-houses, kitchen, and guest room. There are, of course, no chimneys, and it is difficult to understand how the inmates of the upper rooms escape suffocation when the doors are closed for the night. The flat roof is used for religious exercise, eating, sleeping, and recreation; in harvest time it acts as a threshing-floor.

The trade of these districts is entirely in the hands of Chinese, who find a ready market for their wares in the "courts" of the native "kings" and Lamaseries. The Chia Rungs find a profitable employment in digging for drugs such as rhubarb, aconite, peppermint, liquorice, etc., which they take down to Kwanhsien and barter for rolls of cloth, tea, trinkets, and cutlery. The states formerly produced large quantities of gold, but in some places the mines appear to have been exhausted, and in others mining is forbidden by the Lamas on religious grounds.

The lives of the Chia Rung are taken up with agricultural and pastoral pursuits. The valleys between the mountains are covered with crops of maize, wheat, barley, oats, and buckwheat. In the gardens grow cabbage, peas, beans, and various fruits. On the mountain sides flocks of sheep and goats and herds of cattle and horses find rich pasture. Milk and butter

are the staple foods, and mutton, beef, wild-fowl, and fish can always be obtained. The horses are disposed of to Chinese traders; the wool is all woven into cloth and used locally.

The Chia Rung are the gunmakers of the border and Eastern Tibet. Thousands of strong serviceable gun-barrels are made in Somo and the Feudal states and sold to Chinese, nomads, and robbers. The Chia Rung carry their guns for sale over Tibet. They are also famous builders. Their own houses, forts, and towers bear ample testimony to their architectural skill, and much of the heavy masonry in the Chengtu plain, such as dams, walls, reservoirs, and wells, are their handiwork.

The Tung is the only river of any importance, but rapids render it useless as a waterway. However, in the Romei Chango and Hsu Ching districts coracles ply down the river, taking passengers and a limited amount of luggage. There is practically no coolie traffic beyond Meng Kong, transport being by mule, pony, or yak.

In the Chia Rung states woman has an undoubted status, but to obtain it she has had to abandon her modesty and most of her feminine graces. The Chia Rung women lead a strenuous life: they cultivate the fields, tend the flocks, take the farm produce to market, hew wood, and carry water. The domestic duties of cooking, making and mending clothes, washing and housekeeping generally devolve upon the men. The result is that the former are extremely coarse and unwomanlike in appearance and manners, while the latter often exhibit qualities more in harmony with our Western ideas of refinement. The women do not appear to be unkindly treated; they seem well suited to

the free outdoor life they lead, and certainly do not look unhappy and down-trodden. Chia Rung families are small, but the children are usually healthy. Girls marry between the ages of seventeen and twenty; polygamy is common, but polyandry rare except in the remote mountainous districts. Temporary marriages, so common in other parts of Eastern Tibet, are unknown in most of the Chia Rung states.

THE END

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